/11 cont./

601 father and his brother, mother and her sister -- using for this class of relatives the /12/ same terms, even though making use of a suffix that distinguishes real parents from the classificatory ones, and in the same way among their reciprocals, as we have noted above. In ordinary conversation the suffix may be eliminated, thus confusing the real relatives with the classificatory ones. The children of these relatives are all brothers and sisters among themselves.

601 611 This type of system seems to have its origin in the one known by the name of "Omaha," whose most outstanding characteristic is the classification of the male descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, with the mother's brother, and the classification of the female descendants, through the male line, of this same relative with the mother's sister. Nevertheless, in Cancuc there is a marked tendency to designate by means of the term kichán both the male and female descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, without any distinction of sex, which, according to the rule of the uniform reciprocals, brings with it on the part of a female EGO the designation of kichán for the children of the father's sister, in place of the kaal-jún used by a woman for this class of relatives. Furthermore, we are faced with the fact that the descendants of the mother's brother through the female line are no longer considered as relatives; that is to say, the descendants of a woman who is designated by the term mee-jún, and who, according to the rule of uniform descent, should receive the title of "siblings," are not considered as such. This 601 614 disequilibrium tends to disappear with the elimination of the term mee-jún for this class of relatives and the extension of the term kichán for the designation of the same, embracing all the members of the maternal clan, that is to say, all those whom the mother of EGO calls "brother" and "sister." The term kichán, which formerly denoted "man of my mother's clan," would now mean "every person of my mother's clan."

[114] We have not been able to obtain the kinship terms corresponding to the descendants of the grandparents' siblings, since in the genealogies that we possess these terms do not appear because of having been replaced by those applied to clan siblings, or chapomales, or to members of the maternal clan, due to marriages concluded with persons belonging to these clans, there existing, as we have already indicated, a preference for these terms over those.

/16 cont./

two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the inhumation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

Note: The materials for the present study were collected during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NVS Tzeltal NVS

NOTES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF TZELTAL COMMUNITIES OF CHIAPAS

In February and March of 1938, Alfonso Villa Rojas made an ethnological reconnaissance of Tzeltal settlements in northeastern Chiapas, Mexico. The work was done under the auspices of Carnegie Institution of Washington as a guide to the planning of more intensive field work. San Cristobal de las Casas, where Mr. Villa arrived on the first of February, served naturally as a base. A short trip was taken to Teopizca and Amatenango, and a second to visit the ruins of San Gregorio[1] and the village of Chanal. On the fourteenth of that month, Mr. Villa started northward from Las Casas, visiting fifteen Tzeltal settlements, and then entered Chol country at Tila and left Chiapas by airplane from Salto de Agua.

In Mexico City Mr. Villa was provided with a letter of introduction from Ing. Ignacio Marquina, head of the Department of Prehistoric Monuments, of the Secretariat of Public Education. In Tuxtla Gutierrez the Governor of Chiapas, Ing. Efrain Gutierrez, received Mr. Villa and heard from him explanation of Mr. Villa's interests and purposes. Mr. Frans Blom had given Mr. Villa a letter of introduction, but the person addressed was not in Las Casas when Mr. Villa arrived. In Las Casas Mr. Villa received great help from Don José Villanueva. To all these persons who extended kindness and help, grateful acknowledgment is made. Dr. Ruth Bunzel kindly wrote information on the region to Mr. Villa before he began his journey.

The Tzeltal communities, given in the order in which they were visited and with indication of the length of time spent in each, were as follows: Amatenango (2 days), Chanal (2 days), Tenejapa (3 days), Cancuc (1 day), Oxchuc (5 days), San Martin (1 day), Tenango (2 days), Sivacá (1 day), Ococingo (6 days), Bachajón (2 days), Citalá (2 days), Guaquitepec (2½ days), Chilón (2 days), Yajalon (2 days), Petalcingo (½ day).

These villages have been the locus of a number of Indian uprisings,[2] and disturbances have occurred recently, in 1914, 1917, and 1930. Therefore the inhabitants of Spanish culture (Ladinos) are not infrequently uneasy. In Cancuc and Oxchuc Mr. Villa's work was impeded by a revival of this uneasiness, the Ladinos fearing that the celebrations of the carnival season might lead the Indians to acts of violence. With this exception, however, Mr. Villa found the Indians accessible and conditions of work favorable. The information reported herein was obtained in almost every instance from Indians, not Ladinos. Mr. Villa used an interpreter in cases where the Indians did not speak Spanish; although he has a command of Yucatec, and has done ethnological work in Yucatan,[3] he does not speak Tzeltal.

The notes Starr[4] collected on the Tzeltal in 1901 were apparently[5] obtained

[1] For a short description of these ruins, see Schuman, 1930, pp. 296–305.
[2] Vicente Pineda, 1888.
[3] Redfield and Villa, 1934.
[4] Starr, 1902.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 62–72.

: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1936) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

chiefly at Tenejapa and Cancuc. In 1925 Blom and LaFarge[1] entered the Tzeltal country from the north, visiting Bachajón, Sivacá, Tenango, Cancuc, Tenejapa, and Amatenango. These authors have published a short general account of the culture of these people. In 1928 the John Geddings Gray Memorial Expedition of the Tulane University of Louisiana passed through the villages of Ococingo and Sivaca, and visited the hacienda "El Real." At this last place Carlos Basauri, a member of the expedition, collected notes on the Tzeltals.[2] Marcos E. Becerra, who was for ten years head of the Department of Public Education of Chiapas, assembled information on the languages, ethnography, and history of the Indians of the highlands and of other parts of the state.[3] Dr. Ruth Bunzel has spent some time recently in the region; her materials are unpublished.

The Tzeltal-speaking communities may be divided into those situated in the highlands (Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc, San Martin, and Tenango) and those situated at less than 1000 m. above sea level and that consequently enjoy a warmer climate (Sivaca, Ococingo, Bachajón, Citala, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo).

In general the State of Chiapas is highly dissected and mountainous. It is crossed from east to west with three cordilleras, with subdivisions into various branches which cross with one another to form a complicated orographic system.[4] The ranges which cross the Tzeltal region are those belonging to the Cordillera de Hueitepec, reaching an altitude of 2597 m. above sea level,[5] in a mountain of this name situated east of the city of Las Casas. With the exception of some Chamula settlements, this is the settlement of greatest altitude (2110 m. above sea level)[6] in the entire state. From this point and continuing northward are to be found the other pueblos Villa visited. The land decreases in altitude until it reaches the Ococingo Valley where there is a sharp descent of 600 m.[7] From here on, the terrain is not so dissected and the altitude is less than 1000 m. above sea level and becomes gradually less.[8]

As is natural, the climates of these two zones present marked differences which have given rise to the expressions "tierra fria" and "tierra caliente" by which the natives distinguish them. The former refers to the higher region where, according to Amram, "The temperature rarely falls below freezing, though in November, 1935, it dropped as low as 24° F. During the long dry period, when for weeks at a time no rain falls, the temperature in the shade occasionally rises above 75°, and the temperature in the sun may reach well over 100°. The relative humidity is low, and there are great differences between shade and sun temperatures. The nights are cool."[9]

The region of the tierra caliente begins in the Valley of Ococingo and the temperature rises as one goes northward. At Salto de Agua, 73 m. above sea level, one experiences tropical heat.

[1] Blom and LaFarge, 1927.
[2] *Ibid.*, 2: 374-405.
[3] Basauri, 1931.
[4] Becerra, 1932 and 1933.
[5] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 20. See also Waibel, 1935, pp. 69-77.
[6] Santibañez, 1911, p. 7.
[7] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 26.
[8] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 518.
[9] *Ibid.*, 2: 527.
[10] Amram, 1937, p. 58.

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The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivaca;[1] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[2] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*)ç and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*kuxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivacá by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[3] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozol* in water to reduce the porosity.

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets, and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajón[4] were not reported by Villa.

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalón, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth.

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

[1] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:342–345. [3] *Ibid.*, 2:344.
[2] *Ibid.*, 2:183. [4] *Ibid.*, 2:345–349.

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utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel*,[23] and serves as a support for the metate (*cha*). Another smaller table (*matzamalté*) has three legs and is circular in form; it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*iikin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ocosingo northward.

Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*kú*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chukkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*); women wear a white blouse (*ku*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*tzitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says, "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still preserved."[25] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say, "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[26]

Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[23] The names of these objects vary from one village to another; those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another; here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1908, p. 75.

[26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 554.

z: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón, by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomas and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[28] Apparently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after some reluctance shown to Villa, he was requested to deliver to its custodians a dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

The book is called *cahualte* "Our Master." The ceremony of transfer of this sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[29] or supplements that account, and therefore may be summarized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected

[28] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 187. [29] *Ibid.*, 2: 155–156.

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The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed.

No information was obtained on birth customs,[1] or on customs in connection with death.[2]

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[3] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk.[4] These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked.

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomas assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof.[5] On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner.

[1] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.
[2] *Ibid.*, 2:360–362.
[3] *Ibid.*, 2:354–355.
[4] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243.

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carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance, in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute (*ahmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is accompanied by a sort of cornet.

Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be represented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken from the church; the other, called *debo* (for *doble*) substitutes for the true santo in religious processions.[36] In Bachajón the care of the church is alternated weekly between the two calpules; on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priore*) must contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are in the form of a bull, and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at Citalá contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints; it is kept with extraordinary care. At Citalá a principal annual event is the ritual washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great quantity of rum.

Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[37] Villa's notes do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at Oxchuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[38] The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No information was obtained on the beliefs as to *cahualel*; this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge.[39]

[36] This usage corresponds precisely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo Maya, of which one, the true Santa Cruz, is termed ahau in ritual.

[37] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

[38] Núñez de la Vega (1702, p. 91 says, "Los de Oxchuc y de otros parajes de los Llanos veneran mucho al ydolo que llaman Lalehau, que quiere decir según principal o señor de segnal." As quoted in Becerra, 1932, p. 144.

[39] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

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by Blom and LaFarge.[87] At Tenejapa and again at Guaquitepec, Villa met persons terrified by fears of witchcraft; it is apparent that the subject is important throughout the region. The word for witch is *agchamel*, and the phrase used is to the effect that the witch "eats" his victim. Villa understood this to refer to the belief that a person's soul may be lured away from his body, a notion consistent with facts reported by Blom and LaFarge.[88]

Villa's notes establish the fact that the nineteen-month pagan calendar is in current use in the highlands, at least in Chanal, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. In 1702 Nuñez de la Vega[89] published the names of twenty days of the month; these have apparently not been reported since. In 1845 Emeterio Pineda[90] gave for the first time (but for the Tzotzils) the names of the months, omitting only the name *chayquin* for the five-day period. In 1888 Vicente Pineda[91] furnished a complete list of the months for the Tzeltals. Villa was informed that the month *Yaxkin* ended in November so that the new year would begin in the second week of January. Starr[92] says that the first twenty-day period (*Tzin*) begins January 1. Becerra[93] says that the year should begin with the winter solstice. However, he gives, based on information received from the Indians themselves, a table[94] correlating the variations from village to village; thus, the month *Batzul*, first of the year, begins in Oxchuc on January 1, in Cancuc on the second and in Tenejapa on the third. Furthermore, according to this author, there is a marked difference between the correlation followed by the Tzeltals and that followed by the Tzotzils; thus the month *Olalti*[95] begins among the Tzeltals on March 27 and among the Tzotzils on April 12. The list of months Villa secured differs from both Starr's and Pineda's list, but agrees with that of Becerra.

Batzul	Time of harvest)
Zakilab	Clearing the milpa begins)
Agelchac	The clearing continues)
Mac	Time of sowing)
Olalti	Time of sowing)
Jul-ol	Time of sowing)
Uec-cachaquin	No work)
Joquen-ahau	Time of sowing in the tierra caliente)
Chin-uch	Time of weeding)
Mucul-uch	Time of weeding)
Juc-unquil	Time of resting)
Uac-unquil	?
Jo-unquil	?
Chan-unquil	?
Ox-unquil	?
Pom (Octubre)	(When the new ear forms)
Yax-kin (termina con Noviembre)	?
Mux	?
Tzun	?

[87] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 369–371.
[88] *Ibid.*, 2: 371.
[89] Nuñez de la Vega, 1702.
[90] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 111.
[91] Vicente Pineda, 1888, pp. 130–131.
[92] Starr, 1908, p. 177.
[93] Becerra, 1933, p. 90.
[94] *Ibid.*, Table 8.
[95] *Ibid.*, Table 10.

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Concerning the correspondence between the months and the agricultural activities, Emeterio Pineda says:

Moc is the month in which fences should be repaired, and *Olalti* is that in which the sowing is to be done, no matter what may be the condition of the atmosphere, so that if rain fails or is insufficient or is excessive, nevertheless it may not be done in any other month (even though then weather and precipitation permit.

Uch (*Uch*): in this month plants are attacked by ailments and insects, in particular by insects such as plant lice which weaken and destroy them; in the month of *Eleck* (*Eluch*) the favorable winds should cure them. But in case they are not favorable, the loss of many plants is sure, as, for example, the potato which neither flowers nor gives a yield. *Vichquin* corresponds with the period of flowering, *Shalxinquil* with pollenization and *Xchibalxinquil*, *Yoxibalxinquil* and *Xchanibalxinquil* with the three periods of the formation of the seed: that of the pearl, that of the milk and that of the starch.

Poix (*Pom*): in this month honey may be taken from the hives, and the harvest may be carried in. *Mux* represents the beginning of cold, and *Yaxquin* the Christmas season."[46]

[114] O. D. E. Bunge quotes this paragraph but attributes it erroneously to Nuñez de la Vega.[47] Bunge's publication provides other interesting data on this subject. It may be added that the nineteen-month calendar with close relation to the agricultural year has recently been reported by Weitlaner[48] for a non-Maya people, the Chinantec, in northern Oaxaca, and for the Mazatec, a people neighboring the Chinantec.[49]

[46] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 112.
[47] Bunge, 1935, p. 54.
[48] Weitlaner, 1936, pp. 197–201.
[49] Bevan, 1938, p. 5.

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3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 456-A) Teklum

121
621
632 It is in the context of these structural divisions that social change and its behavioral indices must be analyzed.

682
182 Homicide—an act viewed as a delict in national Mexican law—has in the past two decades become an accepted strategy in social interaction. It is part of the expectations of the society upon which members predicate their own code of behavior and in terms of which
[626] they react to others. Gossip not only fails to
[521] suppress homicide, but serves to create a consensual base for condoning it. The corpse is re-
[764] ferred to as "the one who had the guilt," *?a stukel smul*, and even when knowledge of the particular act is lacking, certain assumptions are made: the killer was someone in the community; the victim provoked the killer. In list-
682 ing crimes, informants sometimes failed to
674 mention killing, or they included it after witch-
[124] craft, theft, or adultery. Homicide is considered a *reaction* to crime, not a crime in itself.

The rate is phenomenally high—up to 251.2 per 100,000 (when adjusted to bring the whole township's population of a little over 3,000 to the base for measuring international rates)—and it is increasing. This compares with national rates of 4.8 for the United States, 31.9 for Mexico (United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964), and 36.2 for a nearby town (Favre 1964).

The following tabulation summarizes the homicides by decades since 1915, the earliest date for which records are available.

1915-1924	4
1925-1934	5
1935-1944	19
1945-1954	9
1955-1964	35

•[114) Figures prior to 1950 are not apt to be accurate, for only since that time have there been adequate reporting and checking of township records. In the following tabulation, the marked increase in the annual number of homicides since 1960 represents a real increase.

1950	1	1958	1
1951	0	1959	1
1952	1	1960	4
1953	1	1961	7
1954	1	1962	6
1955	0	1963	7
1956	1	1964	4
1957	4	1965	9

682
674
121 In order to assess the meaning of its remarkable increase during the 1960's, I have pro-

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 457-A] Teklum

682 156 themselves killed." When they see a man who is abusive while drunk, who brags of his power and of that of his animal spirit, they will remark: "That man is going to wake up dead" (*sakubk'inal čamel*). When such a man is killed, no one complains, even among his immediate relatives (cases 5, 10, 14, 16, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, and 32 are of this type). When I asked [562] why women do not get killed, the response was, "They don't look for trouble" (*ma sleik smul*).

682 *Setting*

	Total	*Dawn*	*Afternoon*	*Evening*	*Night*	*??*
Streets of town	11				11	
Milpa, woods, road out of town	10	2	3	2	2	1
Highway	4		1	1	1	1
In cantina	3		1		2	
In houseyard	3			1	2	
In bed	1				1	
Neighboring hamlets & towns	2		1			1
??	3					3
Total	37	2	6	4	19	6

Where the killing takes place and its timing in the diurnal cycle are directly linked. All of the homicides in the streets of the town were committed at night, while those in the roads out of town near the milpa occurred in the late afternoon or evening. In providing privacy and security from discovery, the darkness of night is functionally equivalent to distance from the 682 town center during the daytime. When I sug- • 114 gested that the killings might be reduced if the town would connect the lights that had been installed in the streets, the response was that when they had been in use, killings had increased. The lights helped the killer find his victim, perhaps lying out in the road after a drinking session. He would shoot out the light and then kill his victim.

682 579 The only killings in which considerations of space or time were ignored were those in the cantina during a drunken brawl, for in contrast to the usual killing their onset was unpremeditated.

682 [527] [579] The timing of homicide is related also to the annual cycle: 14 homicides occurred during the fiestas in the town or in a neighboring town. The drunkenness of the fiestas provides an appropriate occasion for killing an enemy, although a drunken brawl is in itself rarely a [755] sufficient motive (two cases). Other opportune [273] times are after a curing ceremony (six cases) and after the gathering of curers during an

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Treltal NV9
[P.465-B] Teklum

as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause for personal attacks on other grounds.

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a realignment of political interests in factions associated with two truck-owning cooperatives. Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

The tensions resulting from the introduction of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting from the new enterprises excite envy, and with it come accusations of witchcraft. In this community, witchcraft killing does not perform the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man. The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

Another new source of tension is found in the growing demand for political leadership or even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in Table 1).[8] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and, or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

Homicide occurring as a direct result of economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

A system of social control rests not only on the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confidence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.469-B]

leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

[121]

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henkerson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting, actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *Pak'lomel*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *Pa'pal*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *muyubel*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1963), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat areas of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch killings. My only comparable case is significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

175 177 648 797 The mistakes, lack of attention and pretensions of the Indians in regard to the Christian doctrine, who they say they know, and the ones instructed best in them, say as many heretic words as Christian, is consequence or necessary sequel of the lack of care in the secular abd ecclesiastical government.

This situation became more and more acute owing largely to the political unrest which absorbed the attention of the authorities, unrest which culminated in the separation of Chiapas from Guatemala and in 1824 its incorporation with Mexico.

175 177 648 The next period, *invasion of lands by Ladinos*, extends from about 1850 to 1911, when the first sparks of the Mexican Revolution reached Chiapas. In this period Ladinos began to invade lands of the Indian-communities by bribery or by force. Toward 1856 the Indians complained against the invasion of lands in San Martin, San Miguel Mitontic, San Pedro Chenalo, Cuncuc, and Tenejapa, but failed to halt Ladino inroads (Tsens, 1942, pp. 274–75).

The history of recent times, from 1920 on, is marked by increasing support from federal authorities throughout the entire [178] republic. In the Tzeltal area progress has been slow but constantly improving (see LaFarge, 1940, Beals, 1951).

Ethnographic Studies of the Region

• 114 [101] In his first trip through the Mayance area in 1839 and 1840, Stephens (1841) visited the northern zone of the Tzeltal, from Ocosingo to Yajalon, going through Bachajon and Chilon.

Traveling the same route two decades later in the opposite direction, the French explorer Désiré Charnay recorded his impressions in a small book (1863).

In 1901 Frederick Starr (1902), from the University of Chicago, made a short visit to the region.

In 1925 Blom and LaFarge traversed from north to south a large part of Tzeltal territory, publishing their data in three chapters of their *Tribes and Temples* (1926–

[P. 198-B]

114 27) but without touching on social organization.

[101] [122] Study of social organization began in 1938 when I made my first trip through the region under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939, pp. 107–19). In 1942–44 we spent several periods among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, establishing camp at Yochib, and published the results soon thereafter (Villa Rojas, 1946, 1947).

Since 1957 various investigations by the universities of Chicago, Harvard, and Stanford have been headed by the anthropologists Sol Tax, Norman A. McQuown, Evon Z. Vogt, Julian Pitt-Rivers, and A. Kimball Romney.

221 241 SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS AND FOOD HABITS

The Milpa

Nothing is of greater importance to the Indian than to have a good *milpa*. Three classes of milpas are cultivated: *sijomal*, planted in mid-January and harvested three months later; *nal-aual* or "March milpa" planted in mid-March and harvested toward the end of August; the main milpa, *jabil-caltic* or "milpa of the year," sown between April and May and harvested between November and December. The first two types are most often cultivated in the lower zone of Tierra Caliente, where humidity is favorable.

241 804 Among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc (Villa Rojas, 1946, pp. 510–39), milpa work begins in February with the measuring of the plot. The measuring rod (*jaubtic*), which presumably corresponds to a *brazada* (the distance between the arms extended), is equivalent to 1.98 m. The area 8 brazadas square takes the name of *tarea* (about 256 sq. m.). The area of the milpa is also computed according to the number of ears of corn needed for seeding; 60 ears of corn are required to fill 1.5 hectares, the average in milpas that we observed.

241 412 Since the bush is short, only a hatchet (*eche*) is necessary to cut it down. The

[P.199-A]

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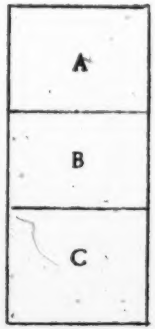

Chart of Positions of Map
Facing p. 239

[facing p. 239]

102
103
114
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361

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

5: Blom & LaFarge A.E.4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

5: Blom & LaFarge A.E-4, 5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Prehistoric Yucatan NV3

PY 172 194 131 167 361 by the great forest. New cities, one after the other, sprang up in the new country. Several tribes stayed behind, but the leaders and chiefs must have gone north. The tribes still living in the southern area are descendants of those who remained.

PY 174 167 241 Several explanations have been advanced for this migration, among which are disease, war, and change of climatic conditions. Probably there are many reasons for the exodus, of which the exhaustion of the soil is one of the principal.

PY 13 167 174 135 241 The Maya could have gone south. There they would have found igneous mountains. We find Maya speaking tribes in the highlands of Guatemala, but rarely find great buildings in that area. To the north, on the peninsula of Yucatan, the migrants found a limestone country, much like that which they had left. Limestone played a principal role in their whole culture. Lime was necessary for making their principal food, the corn cake (now called tortilla by the Spaniards). Limestone was easy to cut and carve with stone tools, and burnt lime was essential in their temple building. Moreover, the agricultural conditions were similar to those to which they were accustomed. Therefore, after two centuries of moving around, searching for a suitable place, they settled in Yucatan. There they built more great cities, and blossomed out in a magnificent renaissance, finally to reach the climax and then came the downfall of their entire culture.

T 361 Now and then we met a few Indians, but only when we reached the high points of the trail did we see their houses in places of vantage on the hills, away from the trail, so that the inhabitants could look out for strangers.

T • 114 Reaching a steep climb, we dismounted and drove our animals along, urging them with Indian cries. The pack animals laboured under their burden, frequently stopping to get their wind, then driven forward again by the yells and whistling of the boys.

T 133 139 114 The trail went straight over the ridge, from the top of which we had a magnificent view of the valley of the Bachilá and Bolontichná rivers. Below we heard the roar of the rivers, and in front lay the nearly vertical wall of the southern side of the valley, an enormous geological fault. Along the backbone of a long narrow ridge we could see our trail winding up to the edge of the wall miles ahead. Nowhere in the huge valley at our feet did we see big forest; all was second growth and patches of grass.

T 133 114 [361] Shortly after noon we had crossed the two rivers, and continued the gradual climb towards the southern rim. As we ascended we

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

saw houses and fields, lying away from the trail, and at a bend before us in the distance a perpendicular wall of yellow and red rock, about 400 meters high, framed in green foliage. A vertical, shining white band, the waterfall "Chegua," cut the center of the red cliff.

Toward evening we made camp by a small stream not far below the rim of the valley, 980 meters above sea level, and rolled ourselves in our blankets just as a downpour started to drum on our tent-fly.

Early in the morning a few Bachajon Indians came stealthily out of the bush to look at our strange outfit. They talked with our Indian carriers, and evidently found out that we were not bad people, as they soon came near to our camp to talk with us.

FIG. 133—Bachajon, Chis. Pine Forest.

It was a cool morning and the bottom of the valley was hidden under great soft banks of white mists with the mountains appearing above in sharp silhouette against the morning sky. Soon we reached the rim of the valley and looking back towards the north, saw the many mountain ranges we had crossed and also the Don Juan mountain along the foot of which we rode towards Palenque.

The vegetation changed to low oak-like bush over ground covered with fern-like moss and pretty wild iris. As we rode downward to the next valley new mountain ranges appeared before us and we could see the pine country at a distance. There is no transition from tropical vegetation to pine forest. Change in soil is

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Change in soil is probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bitterly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

the old church ruins. The chief and the officials all spoke Spanish, but the only one who knew how to read and write was the town secretary, a 15-year old boy.

After dark the Indians gathered in front of the municipal house and presently some of the elders made signs that they wanted to talk to us. We followed them into the dark out of earshot of the agent, where the Indians told us of all their sorrows and difficulties, asking if we could not help them. They said that the agent tried to raise unjust taxes, that they were forced to do much work for the Municipal President of Ocosingo and did not have time to look after their own corn fields, and also that they were molested by the managers of the neighbouring properties. They asked us to bring their complaints before the Central Government, which we have done.

From there our route followed the main trail, or Camino Real, between Chilon and Ocosingo. A few hours ride through pine forest brought us to the top of a pass from where we had a magnificent view over the Ocosingo Valley. We could see the Indian village of Sivacá, and the white walled, red tiled houses of the Mexican town Ocosingo, lying on a green carpet of extensive grazing land. Down over the mountain side we scrambled towards the valley bottom, and by noon the hoofs of our animals clattered against the cobbled stones of Ocosingo's streets.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum.

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule.

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked.

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level.

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists.

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us.

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 [192] [554]

"Tata" means something like father, and the Indians use the word as a remark of respect to old men. Our old Lázaro had by now become a part of our outfit, always working, looking after the welfare of our animals and ourselves. We had come to regard him as a friend, and the name "Tata" grew out of nowhere, as the natural thing to call him.

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FIG. 197—Tenino, Chile. Monument T-1.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Municipal President was visited, and as soon as he saw our credentials, arranged for labourers to be furnished from Sivacá, and sent to the ruins of Toniná nearby, to clear the bush for our work. Then we drew the stone discovered by La Farge (see figs. 214-215).

During the evening we talked with many of the inhabitants, and were told of several more carved stones to be found in other parts

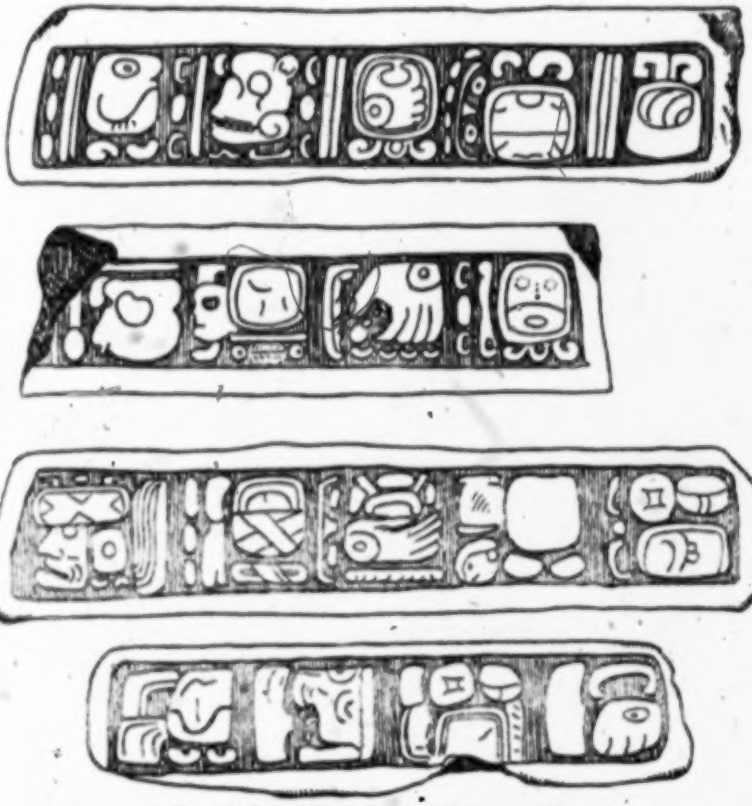

FIG. 188—Toniná, Chia. Drawing of Monument T-7.

of town. Previous Municipal Presidents had paved the streets with cut stones from the Toniná ruins. As a matter fact, it appears, that from the very founding of the Spanish town of Ocosingo, the inhabitants have occupied themselves mainly with hauling rocks from the ruins to the village.

Our search for carved monuments led us into strange places, and amusing situations. In the corner of a house belonging to the Ger-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

172
• 114

man, Dr. Schmeling, was a stone with rows of hieroglyphs somewhat similar to the one first discovered. Behind the church, in a combination back yard and pig sty, we located three large stone figures, two of them with inscriptions. Then we heard of a stone said to be partly buried in the ground on an old site. When we arrived at this place, the owner of the lot appeared, very drunk, and insisted that we pay him $25.00 for permission to see and draw the stone. He was very noisy so we retired, and the next morning returned with an order from the municipal president giving us authority to do what we wanted to with the stone, as it was government property (see figs. 197-198). The laws of Mexico state that all ancient buildings and monuments belong to the nation. Monuments cannot be excavated or removed from the country without government permission. The Tulane Expedition had permits to explore, and due to these permits we received much help from all officials. All objects we discovered were drawn to scale and photographed, but nothing was removed.

[122] →
[126] →

FIG. 198.—Ubala Ranch, Chis. Upper half of Monument T-8 with modern cross.

Outside the village there was said to be a large stone with carvings. La Farge went out in search of it led by our somewhat imbecile local guide. For some time they wandered around without finding anything, but finally the guide led him to what he said was another stone, a large square block with a circular hole in the center, in which was stuck a huge wooden cross (fig. 199). The stone had been dragged to its present position by our guide's family, and used as a base for the cross of his grandmother's grave. His family did not wish us to find the monument, as they feared we would excavate it; but our imbecile thought he had to produce something for his pay, so he took La Farge to the stone.

[126] La Farge made a sketch of the principal inscription, which showed that it began with one of the so-called Initial Series, most

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

important in Maya Chronology. The writer went to draw the monument, but could not finish it the same afternoon as it began to get dark. The following morning the work was continued and we found that a part of the monument was missing. While working, the owner of the land arrived and told us that there was another stone nearby. This turned out to be the missing fragment, and when the two parts were placed together they carried the Initial Series date 9-12-10-0-0 9 Ahau 13 Zotz, or 422 A. D., after our reckoning.

This was an important discovery, and we persuaded the owner of the Ubala ranch, where we found the monument, to bring the two stones together. His intention was to use the lower part of the monument, which had a large hole in its centre, as a rim to a water tank.

We found a total of nine carved stones of different sizes in and around Ocosingo. All were of the typical yellow sandstone common to Toniná monuments, and there is little doubt but that they all come from these ruins.

Our stay in Ocosingo was very delightful. The children of the village eagerly hunted monuments for us, and our arrival made a boom in the local market. Usually the inhabitants spend their time passing a few pennies from one to the other. One day A makes bread and sells it to B, and the next day B sells bread to A. Now we added a few cents to the city capital.

On the day of Corpus Christi the women, with their heads wrapped in black shawls, went to church many times; the men did less work than usual; and the children played baseball on the Plaza. A quaint phraseology, a mixture of American baseball words and Spanish swearing, cheered the play.

While drawing one of the monuments behind the church, we heard an organ playing inside. Suddenly the music swung into some cheerful opera tune, later to return to serious religious music. We had the feeling that whoever was playing suddenly felt gay and happy and decided that the good people of Ocosingo did not know what the music was anyway, but thought anything coming from a church organ was religious, so why not be happy for a short moment?

Indians went back and forth over the Plaza, often filling the door of our room to watch the strangers. Ladinos would come to pay their respects and offer help, and both the Padre and the school teacher often came in for a chat. There was an extraordinary feeling of peace in the little town, a silence which became more notice-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

123 able when broken by the clattering of horses hoofs against the paving stones.

172 From the Plaza one can see a great part of the valley and sur-
• 114 rounding mountains. When the sun in the morning falls on the San Martín mountain, one's attention is attracted by a spur on this mountain which strongly resembles a pyramid. We asked about this and were told that it actually was an ancient mound. Therefore, one morning, we rode to the foot of the San Martín.

Reaching a small ranch, we left our horses behind and ascended on foot. A spur of the mountain had in ancient times been levelled and shaped to the form of an immense truncated pyramid, rising in terraces.

778 We had heard that there were caves in the mountainside, and
114 that every year, on the 3rd of May, the Indians come here to worship the god of the mountain. Soon we reached a small cave, or rock shelter, and upon entering saw that a tunnel led into the dark. This we followed, with lighted candles, into a small cave, and there on the floor we found signs of a small altar.*

We took great pains not to disturb anything on the altar, returning to the mouth of the cave, and emerged into the glaring sunlight. We then climbed to the top of the pyramid, and found a large level area in the center of which stood a small mound. On top of the mound Indians had erected a wooden cross and at its foot we found bunches of pine needles, also remnants of burnt copal incense. Evidently this also was a place of Indian worship.

114 Sitting on top of the mound we had the whole Ocosingo valley
133 at our feet. The red roofs of the town lay 500 meters below us.
192 The top of the pyramid, called Chacalchib, is 1,440 meters above
361 sea level. Far away we could see two other hilltops that likewise had been turned into pyramids. On the northern edge of the valley lay Campomtik, and further away on the same side we could distinguish the ruins of Toniná. On the southern side of the valley was the mountain-pyramid called Cololté. All these places were later visited.

133 The valley floor spread out before us. Here and there lay small
137 ranches, and patches of pine forest. Several groups of mounds were
361 easily distinguished, as those of Santa Teresa just outside Ocosingo
192 on the trail to Bachajon. At the head of the valley lay Sivacá, the Indian village.

172 On the level top of the pyramid were rows of stones, indicating
114 old house foundations, but though we made a careful search, we found no monuments.

*For Description, see Chapter XV.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Slowly we descended towards the valley, enjoying the magnificent view. The country we were to work in for the following weeks lay before us like a map. About half-way down we encountered another cave, in which we also found an Indian altar. This time the offerings were placed before a small cross, crudely made of wood.

La Farge, as usual, was busy collecting data on the Indians' life and customs, and while he paid a visit to the village Sivacá, the writer set out to explore the Cololté pyramid, sometimes called Hocuchupac, which was said to have a stone idol on it. We also heard that the good inhabitants of Ocosingo were afraid to go to the mountain top, not knowing what the Indians might do.

FIG. 200—Cololté, Chia. Altar on top of the Cololté Pyramid.

Our local guide was eventually persuaded to take me to the ranch of a Ladino boy, by name Cenón, on whose property the pyramid was located.

From Ocosingo we rode along the Rio Grande de la Virgen until it joined the Jataté River, which we crossed and soon came to the ranch of Cenón, who was in the field, but came out when we called. Though the pyramid, as stated, was on his property, he was not eager to take me to it, and when he finally agreed, he first armed himself with an old 30-30 Winchester.

Following long, narrow, pine ridges we approached the pyramid. It was beautiful country with scattered pine and grass below.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

172 At last we had drawn all the carved stones in Ocosingo, so, pre-
114 ceded by a gang of Tzeltal-speaking Indians from Sivacá, we rode out to the ruins of Toniná. The road led through the centre of the valley, crossing the Rio Grande de la Virgen over a bridge which had recently been reconstructed after the rebels of the last revolution
[137] had destroyed it. We were riding through rolling grass-covered country with clusters of pine trees and small groups of mounds scattered here and there. The Campomtik pyramid stood out sharply against the surrounding dark pine forest. We turned off from the main trail to the north and soon came in sight of the ruins, which Stephens, eighty-five years before, had come over the same trail to visit. Several explorers had been before him, but none had

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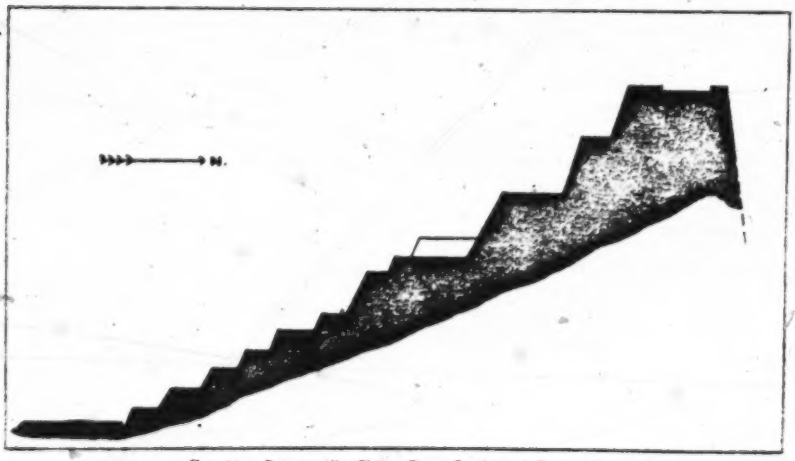

Fig. 101—Campomtik, Chia. Cross Section of Pyramid.

172 given such a vivid description of the ruined city we were now to
114 explore.

Following the northern mountain range, we came to the Plaza at the foot of the ruins, and rode up to the first terrace as Stephens had done. There we tied our horses and proceeded on foot. Don Aureo Cruz, owner of the land on which the ruins lie, guided us through a part of the ruins that had never been recorded. We reached the Temple of the Wooden Lintel, saw the "winged globe" drawn by Catherwood, then entered the sanctuary. Before us was the wooden lintel which has been lying over the door for nearly 1500 years, and which made Stephens marvel. Then and there we drank a small tumbler of the local cane wine in memory of John Lloyd Stephens and F. Catherwood, among the first to break the trails we

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

are now following in our search for the history of the ancient Maya.

After crossing a small stream, we rode up to the ranch of Don Aureo Cruz. The ranch consisted of a two-room, palm-thatched house with adobe walls, and a dilapidated hut which served as kitchen, across a small courtyard. We had spent our days and nights in so many strange places that we hardly noticed this, and the more time we spent with Don Aureo and his family, the better we liked it. One could not have found a more kind and courteous family. What they possessed was ours. Don Aureo kept watch over our workmen, and helped us in our investigations from early to late. His wife and daughters were constantly preparing special dishes and cakes for us.

While we were getting off our animals, we saw the extremely pretty eldest daughter of the house, a beauty of about 17 years with long black hair and fiery dark eyes, strewing the floor of the main room with fragrant, fresh pine needles. We were ushered into this room and were at once offered fresh milk and several handfuls of small clay idols by Don Aureo. In one corner of the room was a table and benches, in the opposite corner an altar to San Antonio of Toniná. A few days before our arrival a fiesta had been celebrated in honour of this saint, and the altar was still decorated with garlands of coloured paper, and a paper band with gilt letters saying "Viva San Antonio, 1925."

Our stay at Don Aureo's house will not soon be forgotten. The evenings we shall especially remember, when we sat outside the hut and listened to Don Aureo's tales of the Indians, while his pretty daughters were busy flirting with our guides, and with us too. A pine stick fire lit up the walls of the houses and flickered over the brown faces of our hosts and our Indian labourers, who sat just back of us, chatting in their own strange language and enjoying the local cigars we had given them. Out in the dark our animals could be heard grazing, and now and then a pig or a dog would approach the fire, to be driven away with shouts and sticks.

[pp. 258–324 not processed]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

CHAPTER XV

THE NORTHERN TZELTAL TRIBES

Ever since leaving Zona Sala, we had been working in the country of the Tzeltal-speaking tribes who form an outpost of the Highland Indians. The Bachajon, of the Finca Encanto and Bachajon village, and the Indians of Ocosingo and the neighbouring valleys, living as they do, cut off from the outside world, strong in number, and of a rather independent disposition, gave us the first evidences of how little the Indian of the Chiapas Highlands has changed since the days before Columbus. The kings and priests are dead, the temples have been replaced by churches and Christian forms, but the Indians and labourers of today in many respects live the life that their humble forebears did five hundred years ago.

At this point, before describing our trip up into the true mountain country, it seems opportune to tell something of these people, their manners and customs. We did not have time to make an exhaustive study of any of them, but they were constantly with us as guides and labourers, and we passed through many of their villages. At El Encanto we had a chance to visit and examine the settlement of the finca's workmen, with the kind help of Señor Ciriaco Aguilar, who acted as interpreter and supplied us with invaluable information. Señor Arturo Tovilla helped us with the Linguistic Lists (see Appendix III), as well as describing many of the customs recorded in this chapter. Señor Aureo Cruz of Toniná dictated a Tzeltal Prayer and Conversation, which was analyzed with the help of Señor Manuel Bulnes of El Real. (See Appendix VI). In general it may be said that all the Spanish-speaking people with whom we dealt helped us in every way possible.*

The Bachajon (*Batcahon*) and Ocosingo Valley Indians are, as has been said, an outlying part of a large group living in the mountain country. They speak the Tzeltal language, belonging to that branch of the great Mayance stock more closely related to Maya. In the pine country of Chiapas they hold the largest share of land, occupying an irregular area running southeast from Simojovel to

[175]

*The written sources bearing directly on the ethnology of these people are very meager. Nuñez de la Vega (1702) gives the best account of the early religion; his section on Nagualism has been reprinted by Paniagua (1908) along with an important selection of other early sources. Licenciado Vicente Pineda (1888) in his account of the Indian uprisings, gives some information, together with the most complete linguistic material. He gives a native calendar, probably based on one published by Ximeterio Pineda (1845). Of modern scientific works, Starr (1901 and 1908) has ethnographic material, and publishes the only physical measurements (1902). Seler (1898) goes into the calendar in detail. For comparative material Tozzer (1907) and Sapper (1925) have been our chief reliance. Sapper's "Nordliche Mittelamerika" (1897) was in constant use in the field for information on all subjects. Particular references are given as they occur. Prof. Rudolph Schuller kindly allowed me access to his manuscript material.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Lacandone prayer in Tozzer's "Comparative Study of the Maya and Lacandones," page 169. As *tsax*, which a Ladino would probably give as *tsak*, means "red" in Tzeltal, the two words may be taken to be the same. *bak* means "bone," and *tci* means "blood." Many of these translations are doubtful, and all of them together do not suffice to explain the text.

II.

hun ahau bitskilim gravilan yokivin-wits yevakinok . . .

This also begins with Hun Ahau. *wits* means "hill." Beyond that no translation could be obtained.

The whole material on medicine and shamans is very slight and unsatisfactory. Indeed it is doubtful whether anything could be learned save after a long stay and much patient work, so secretive are the Indians on this subject, and so suspicious of inquiries. What we have is presented here in the hope that it may prove useful for comparative purposes, and offer suggestions to any worker going into this field.

According to Nuñez de la Vega, the old calendar was still current in his time. Starr* quotes a Zotzil Calendar of eighteen months, and Pineda* gives a Tzeltal calendar of both months and days. We asked in the different villages what names were given to the days, and were told always the Spanish names, as also for the months. This may well have been from unwillingness to impart ceremonial information, but consistent replies, plus the statement of various Ladinos who knew the Indians well, incline me to believe that if the old calendar is known at all, it is known only to a very few of the most learned shamans. Feasts, as far as could be made out, are controlled entirely by the cycle of Christian saint's days. However, the Maya year might well have been by now adjusted to the Gregorian, and a time-count actually kept in the old style be stated for public purposes in the terms of the new. Pineda's calendar is adapted from one published by his father† some forty years earlier, but he speaks of it as being still current.

Seler also doubts the modernity of Pineda's calendar. In his article "Der Festkalender der Tzeltal und der Maya von Yucatan" (1898), he brings together various interesting statements. Of them, one may be applied to this survey. Emeterio Pineda he quotes as saying that the sixth month, Olalte, is the time of planting. This would be in April of our year, or the end of April and early May,

*Starr, 1903—Pineda, Vicente, 1888.
†Pineda, Emeterio, 1845.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

as is also shown by his placing of Yaxkin, the first month, in the end of December. The seventh month, Ulol, is co-ordinated with Kankin of the Maya calendar. Now, according to Sebastiano Guzman, the Bachajon shaman, the big fiesta at Bachajon on May 13th is called *Kank'in*. Is this a coincidence, or a true calendar name, and if the latter, what is a Yucatan calendar name doing among the Bachajon, when we should expect the Tzeltal Ulol? In the present state of our knowledge, no more can be done than to state the facts.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

CHAPTER XVI

THE HIGHLAND TZELTAL

On the Fourth of July we left Ocosingo for the last stretch in to this fabled city of San Cristóbal, about which we had so long been hearing, up into the real mountains, the country of the highland tribes. We thought to spend the day in quiet travel, without fireworks, but our animals had other ideas. El Viejito, the old, white horse, led off by giving out under his pack right at the start. Then the bay mare cut loose, distributing her load over several acres. 114.

The celebration finally being calmed, we reached Sivacá, at the foot of the long climb. The men who knew us were away in the fields. A few frightened women misdirected us as best they could, the animals got loose again among the orange trees and winding paths, and it was another half hour before, to the accompanying enthusiastic squeals of the local pigs, we finally got them rounded up and on the right way.

Right behind Sivacá the trail stands up on end to climb the first of the series of ramparts that lie like a defense about the highland country. It was very much like trying to ride up a gutter on the side of a house. The narrow trail was also the bed of a feeble brook. It was worn so deep that the packs rubbed along the sides. We pushed and pulled and tugged. There was the usual repetition of fallen horses and packs to be put on again. Thus for two hours, slipping 114 and scrambling, until at last we came to a level place where an old 133 wooden cross, decorated with offerings of flowers marked the top of 137 the pass—1,660 meters, 600 meters (about 1,900 feet) above Ocosingo. From there on, as our trail dipped and rose along the uneven plateau, we had occasional glimpses through the tall fir trees back to the ranges behind Ocosingo Valley, and far over the hills of the Tzendales and the Lacandone country, looking very cool and blue. The trees were fine, and widely spaced; below were good grass, patches of pine-needles, and scars of red earth. We followed a succession of ridges, not very notable in themselves, but tiring to the animals after their long climb and earlier celebrations. In the late afternoon it grew cooler, and stimulated by that, and the beauty of the country, we did not know that we were weary.

One of the pack animals, a game little sandy-coloured pony with 114 a Roman nose, who drew his neck back like a camel's when he traveled, was making better time than the rest. So Blom, on his

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

114 mule Borrachito, took him ahead, planning to get into Tenango early and arrange for food and lodging. They went along briskly enough for a while, leaving the pack train well behind. Then the pony stopped, lowered his nose to the ground, blew a moment, and keeled over. There was nothing for it but to unpack him and wait
114 for help. By and by an Indian turned up. Blom hailed him in
123 Tzeltal. "*La!*"—"come here!" He took cover and disappeared. Two more came along the trail, stopped at a distance to look him over, and also disappeared. After a while an Indian's head popped up for an instant behind a stone. All this was rather disconcerting, here in the Indian country, and he had noted that one of the Indians carried a thing that looked like a cleaver on the end of a long pole. He moved over to the mule, hiding his revolver side so that the Indians should not notice that he carried no fire-arms, and put himself in reach of his machete. A head stuck out again from behind a tree. Then two more Indians came down the trail, whom he hailed, asking them to carry the pack boxes into town. At first they refused, but after looking for a long time at his mule, they accepted the job. So he continued peacefully towards Tenango. He came into the open valley just before dusk, with the shadow of the further mountains just on the village, and the mountains themselves dark blue and black under tremendous thunder-clouds. The men and women were all trailing in from their cornfields, with their hoes and machetes over their shoulders. Some stopped a moment to stare at him, then went on, moving with slow steps over the cultivated land.

When La Farge and Lazaro came out into the cleared land, the valley was deep in purple shadow. They reached the Cabildo after dark, too tired to take notice of anything.

Early the next morning, while wisps of cold, silver and pink mist still lay in the valley, the village elders gathered to welcome us, bringing two chickens as presents. They said that they had heard of us already, and would show us through the village. In return for all this, we were to report to the *Tata Presidente* in Mexico that they needed more land, and were hard put to it to find food throughout the year for the 135 families of the village. At first we were escorted by the whole group, from the Village President down to the Secretary, who was illiterate and spoke little or no Spanish. Later, most of the elders lost interest and trailed off, but we always had enough of a delegation to ensure us good service. It was Sunday, so no one was working in the fields, yet we saw remarkably few people, the women, especially, keeping within their houses most of the time.

133 As has been said, Tenango lies in the eastern part of a wide valley that slopes down from the eastern ridge until it meets an abrupt.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 380]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango
Cancuc

443 439 themselves maintain an export trade, yet there is some. From the distant, shy Lacandones a little tobacco of fine grade comes out, in exchange for salt, dogs, powder for flint-locks, and aguardiente. Tenango pottery goes down to Salto de Agua and up to Tenejapa where it meets the finer products of Amatenango, with which it cannot compete. Amatenango pottery is traded as far, at least, as San Andres in Guatemala. Chamula blankets are worn in Cancuc, and all through the Chiapas mountains. The Indians of the highest section keep warm in a heavy woolen shirt called *"chuj,"* which is made in Guatemala. So they themselves, on a small scale, and the Ladino peddlers yet more, keep alive a vestige of the old trade that once ran from Central America to Utah.

• 114 291 482

FIG. 321—Cargadores with our boxes.

114 The last day's climb had seriously fatigued our horses. It became obvious that they alone could not bring us safely through, so on the sixth we arranged for five *cargadores,* under one of the village councillors, to carry five of our boxes through to Cancuc (fig. 321). It seemed as though that would make quite a load for each of these men, but we came to realize that the carrying power of a Highland Tzeltal truly puts a mule to shame.

At the end of the valley we swung up into the highroad that runs from San Cristóbal to the Lowlands at Salto de Agua. Once fairly well smoothed and levelled, this road is now impassable for ox-carts, and even horses must pick their way over the jagged limestone

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1887; Pineda, 1888.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc
Tenejapa

From Cancuc the road falls slowly away, then it climbs to the steep side of the ridge and at last dips precipitously to a covered bridge over a narrow ravine. All along on both sides little cornfields alternate with second growth. Ahead, the same great palisade that we saw from Tenango rises in a green wall, patched with fields and broken here and there by outcrops of cliffs and hanging valleys. We passed a dribbling of traffic, Indians on foot, and at the bridge met a family of Mexicans noisily eating a picnic lunch. The ravine was deep, rock-walled, with a roaring stream in the shadows of the bottom. From the other side of it the palisade rose immediately, looking almost perpendicular and indefinitely high to us as we contemplated it. The road assumed a stiff grade, rising in a series of zig-zags that gained painfully to the top. Straight up, almost like a ruled line, lay the Indian trail, taking no account of the twists and turns of the road. Our carriers from Cancuc, who took on the cargo that the Tenango men had carried the day before, had gone up that fearsome climb. We tried it, but the horses slid and fell back on their haunches, and we ourselves could barely keep our footing. So we continued along the road, turning and turning, seeming never to gain, and fearing that our animals would never make it. The heat of the sun was thrown back by the hillside and the road.

We toiled on. Low growth and brush on the side of the road gave no shade. The dust rose high. The air, for all the heat, began to have a pleasant crispness that reminded us of high altitudes in other countries. Then we smelt a familiar smell which we ignored until its persistent recurrence forced us to look, see, and believe—that blackberries grow wild in Chiapas! The event of the next hours amused Lazaro greatly, for here in Mexico we found ourselves among familiar northern flowers and wild fruits, buttercups, dandelions, wild roses, blackberries, strawberries, all strange to him. We passed an Indian farm, stuck into a tiny hanging valley, where peach trees and alligator pears were growing together in the cornfield.

At the top of the pass in a shallow V-shaped cut, the barometer read 2,100 meters, a climb of 600 meters—about 1,900 feet—in two hours.

The country changed beyond here to steep ravines, high cliffs, rushing, cold brooks, and tall, dark fir trees clothing the rocks. The tilled fields disappeared, the scattered houses, and stick fences. It was a wild, shaggy country—a perfect setting, we thought, for the home of the rough Tenejapeños that we had seen along the road.

Near evening, a road forked off to the right, leading to a split in a wall of high cliffs through which we could see, already dark with

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

shadow, another wall far behind. A Mexican told us that Tenejapa lay in the valley thus enclosed. With the cool evening air our animals picked up, taking us along at a good trot. We swung around a green dell, up under one cliff into the opening, over the threshold of a ridge. Some Indians sitting there waved to us. Beyond was a tiny, lush meadow and a brook where some Mexicans were making clay tiles. There was another rocky hillock, around which we swung to find ourselves trotting down a well-cobbled street lined with little white cottages, white-walled gardens, and roses. To us, looking for something yet wilder than the villages we had seen, the neat houses and candle-lit casement windows, the doors of tiny shops, the flowers, and the shingled roofs were an utter surprise. In the streets was a sprinkling of touselled-headed Indians

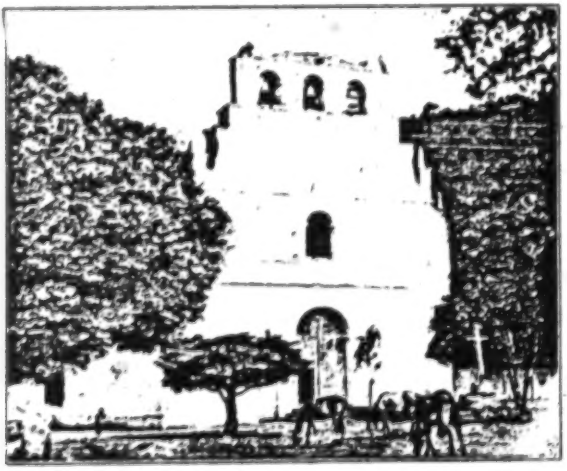

FIG. 330—Tenejapa, Chis. Church and Plaza.

and Ladino people of much fairer complexion than the typical, Lowland Mexicans. We rode past a gaunt, high-shouldered stone church into the plaza, a field of about two acres planted with a few trees, and with a fine town fountain of icy water in the middle (fig. 328). Along one side ran the Cabildo, a long, one-storied building with a very deep veranda, gorgeously painted in cubist fashion, red, yellow, green and blue. Here we halted to unpack and present our credentials to the *Presidente Municipal*.

Tenejapa is really two towns in one. There is the Ladino town, around which lie the houses of some eight thousand Indians, by local

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

Fig. 330—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal*, and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa
Amatenango

one of them had developed fever, "so that he lost his breath," and another had made almost the whole trip with two kayaks, over 200 lbs. on his back. They camped on the Town Hall porch where we, with our beds on piles of grass in a room labelled *"Commandancia,"* heard them, as we fell asleep, still chattering over a friendly bottle. Here, as long ago at Ocozotepec, our goods and saddles were stored in the jail, the room next ours, bearing the tactful label in red and blue, *"Prevencion."* Our grass beds were soft and sweet. The big door framed a little of the plaza, the fountain, a cottage with a narrow barred, candle-lit window, and the towering back-drop of cliffs behind, reaching to the stars, with one small winking fire, high up, from some Indian's house. We heard our *cargadores'* low chatter-

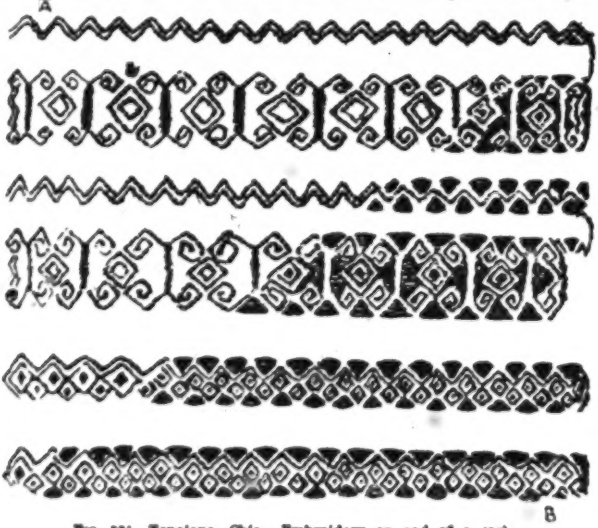

FIG. 331—Tenejapa, Chis. Embroidery on end of a sash.
A. Front. B. Back.

ing, the play of the fountain, a distant guitar. The air was fresh with pines and sweet grass and mountain coolness. We were in a magic country, and we were very, very tired.

Although it breaks the sequence of our journey, it seems best to mention the town of Amatenango here in connection with the other Highland Tzeltal tribes. We passed through it just beyond Teopisca on our way to Comitan, having no time to stop off. The people had been observed in San Cristóbal, where they come in to trade their famous pottery, men and mules alike piled high with loads twice their size.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

121 This thesis is an introduction to the ethnography of drinking in Aguacatenango, a Mayan-speaking community in Chiapas. It displays in some detail the roles and the circumstances of drinking performances there, and it examines some of the ways in which drinking performances reflect the more general beliefs and habitual actions of the people of the community.

*273 183 The drinking of beverage alcohol is a highly frequent, well-patterned part of life in most of the Chiapas highland Indian communities, the only known exceptions being some of the *273 184 protestant enclaves in Oxchuk and environs (Slocum 1956). While • [114] detailed references to drinking performances are scarce, it has been determined that variations on the patterns to be described for Aguacatenango are likely to be found at least in Amatenango (Nash 1960); Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes 1946); Chamula (Bunzel 1940, Pozas 1959); Chenalhó (Guiteras-Holmes 1961); Huistan (Miller 1958); Oxchuc (Castro 1959, 1962; Siverts 1960; Slocum 1956; Villa-Rojas 1946); Tenejapa (Metzger and Williams 1963);

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Acknowledgments

My study of the people of Tzo'ontahal was made in four field sessions, the first in 1957 with return trips in 1958, 1964, and 1965, for a total of eighteen months. Brief visits were made in 1966 and 1967. With each returning visit it was possible to penetrate more deeply into the lives and experiences of the villagers, most of whom were highly resistant to an outsider on the first contact. I began writing the book in 1966, and some of the predictions I made came true before I finished it in 1968. These included the demise of the ceremonial leadership of the *alfereces*—the officials in charge of religious celebrations—the waning of the community status of curers, and the killing of one of my principal informants who had taken a leadership role before acquiring the traditional validation of age and experience in office. The transformations over the period of my study in this community created difficulties in recording and organizing my material. I owe whatever clarification has emerged to the efforts of Jane Olson and Gale Griffin of Yale University Press.

I am indebted to the National Institutes of Mental Health, which made possible the research for this study. I owe an intellectual debt to Sol Tax, who introduced me to the problems and potentialities of the area as a locus for field study, to Norman McQuown, who gave me the first instruction in Tzeltal and provided a grammar which facilitated learning the language, and to Manning Nash, who provided some of the earlier formulations of the culture from which I have borrowed. I am grateful to Duane Metzger and Gerald Williams, who generously provided equipment and facilities for work with informants in San Cristóbal Las Casas in the summer of 1964. Alfonso Villa Rojas, who was director of the Instituto Nacional Indígenista, was of great assistance in the first summer's field trip, introducing me to leaders within the town and in the Instituto's headquarters in Las Casas.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

ters in Las Casas. His encouragement and support of investigations by foreign students set an example in international cooperation. I am personally indebted to Mary Marshall for the companionship and assistance she offered during our summer of residence in the public bathhouse of the town; she is responsible for the observations in Appendix 3A and 3B. Terrence Kaufman checked the Tzeltal words appearing in the glossary. I am grateful for the hospitality and friendship of the family of the schoolmaster, Louis Tavernier. Without the patience, the insight, and the friendship of Juliana Lopez Shunton, Mariano Lopez Lin, Simón Perez Kantirón, and their families, the book would never have been written. Vera Deutsch provided encouragement and assistance in the final typing of the manuscript. My children, Eric and Laura, shared the hardships of fieldwork and of producing the book.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Chapter 6

Curing and the Curers

Sickness is a sign of upset relations between the spirits or people and those of relatives, neighbors, or places. In the curing ritual, the curers not only treat the disease, but also try to bring about spiritual readjustment by dramatizing the ill effects of animosity. Because they claim to be able to counteract witchcraft, the curers exercise a great deal of power. This power is limited by institutional requirements controlling entry into the profession and exercise of their skill and knowledge. The breakdown in the authority of elder curers during my study of the community, and their attempts to reinstate themselves, made explicit some of the structural principles of the institution.

The Curing Hierarchy

Recruitment into the hierarchy. Until the 1950s, each side of the dual division had an age-ranked order of curers and recognized the leadership of a single elder, called *stätal ?u?ul.* The older, more experienced curers, called the *b'ankilal,* or elder brothers, had authority over the novice curers, called the *?ihtz'inal,* or younger brothers. With the breakdown of the hierarchy during my stay, this distinction was becoming less clear. In 1964 there were seven curers in Alannantik and six in Ahk'olnantik; on a return visit I made in 1967, their numbers had been reduced by homicide and exile to five in Alannantik and five in Ahk'olnantik.

Entry into the profession occurs during an epidemic when the civil authority calls upon the curers to gather in the town hall to determine who is bringing the "heat" that causes death from disease. The curers decide whether there are any promising young men who have the third soul, swayohel, which gives them the ability to cure. If a young man is deemed

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

shortly before the fiesta of the saint's day with which he was charged. When the nomination was made, the president sent out the first policeman with the chief policeman to bring the man chosen to the town hall. They expected, and were always confronted with, resistance to the nomination. In order to gain acceptance they got the nominee drunk in a drinking session at the town hall. Liquor was measured out, and all the officials drank only a half cup at each round, but the new alférez was required to drink a full cup. The rounds continued until the new alférez was drunk. If he did not accept at this session, he was put in jail to think it over. Another drinking session took place the following day.

Nomination to the post of alférez was the only situation in which the jail penalty has been brought into effect, since refusal by nominees to other posts simply means that the officials "look for someone else." The reason given for invoking the punishment was "we know he has the wealth and therefore he should serve." Until 1965 the town had always succeeded in recruiting two of the alfereces from Ahk'olnantik and two from Alannantik. Since the upper division of Ahk'olnantik has grown at a more rapid rate than the lower division, candidates were found only in Ahk'olnantik. This unbalancing of the population ratios undermined the institution of alférez, which had always been the most unpopular position. When I returned to the field in 1967, it had been eliminated.

The Functions of Civil Officials

An analysis of the formally prescribed functions of the civil officials must take into account three sources of data: the functions as prescribed by state legislation, the functions as understood by local officials, and the observed activities of the officials. Table 26 compares the functions of officials as stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departmental de Chiapas, 1828: Decreto 52, Nov. 30, 1825) [3] to statements of informants and to my observations of the carrying out of their official obligations.

3. I have chosen this constitution as the first post-independence statement of the status of local civil administrators.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 578 177 178 [114] [474] [182] [756] was channeled along existing lines of competition. During my stay in the community from 1964 to 1966, most conflicts were attributed to economic competition between the two trucking cooperatives. Along with this, the waning of the position of the principales has undermined the confidence of the people in the system of checks and balances in which the principales watched over the judges, the judges watched over the curers, the curers watched over the people to see that no one brought in evil, and the ancestors watched over everyone. Curers are more and more often accused of witchcraft and are frequent victims of homicide. The sense that they are the guardians of the pueblo and the agents of the ancestors is nearly dead. They are consulted only because the people feel that, because of the evil in them, they can fight the evil caused by others.

621 756 177 178 The shift in power from the old leaders to the new has not been accompanied by a shift in ideological allegiance. The new leaders cannot offer the security the people felt when they were living in the eyes of the ancestors. The curers remain as a powerful group because of their claims of being able to fight evil, but there is no longer a legitimate authority controlling their use of destructive forces.

561 554 177 178 A system of authority based on rule by elders is a structural correlative of a behavior pattern in which people act out the ways of the ancestors. This applies to the schematized behavior contained in rituals and in traditional productive activities. The ideology of a seniority-based prestige system persists at the explicit level at the same time that behavioral changes in contradiction to this are occurring.

626 177 178 Social control in a system of behavior based on what was done in the past depends upon the belief that people are carrying out their lives "in the eyes of the ancestors." Ritual behavior in Tzo'ontahal seems to confirm this, but in view of the waning belief in the presence of the ancestors and the loss of confidence in their agents, the curers, this behavior is a kind of social lie designed to perpetuate the old code of morality. In their everyday behavior, people no longer act on the same premises. The social lie is perpetuated because the people who enjoyed power in the old social system—the curers and the elders—do not wish to relinquish it. It will last only so long as they can find successors, and with the abolition of the recruitment through alfereces, this should not be for long.

121 and can be empirically described by the observer in the form of a model.

I do not pretend these to be always the best possible definitions of any of these concepts. I find that in the course of my training as a social anthropologist, I came to think of these concepts in such terms, and in working my problems they became the most comfortable conceptual frame. I do feel, however, that in explicitly defining my use, I solve the main problem of communication between author and reader.

Sources of Data

•114 122 The area in which the communities selected for this study are located have been under intensive multi-disciplinary study for more than ten years. Mexican anthropologists of the National Museum and the National Indian Institute have done surveys and community descriptions on their own and under the direction of Robert Redfield and Sol Tax, of the University of Chicago. (See bibliography.) The University of Chicago Chiapas Project, now in its second stage and seven years old, has covered the area with a fine-tooth comb, and prepared a three-volume report which contains information on geography (soils, rain distribution, physical character, water supply, etc.), botany, linguistics, social anthropology, archeology, ethnohistory and other related fields (see McQuown et al., 1959).

There is a wealth of primary sources for the area, but, unfortunately, there has never been up to the present a careful analysis of their content, although they have been extensively quoted by modern authors with different purposes in mind.

114 The previous mentioned sources of information will be
128 utilized for background of the study.

The actual data pertaining to the two communities under scrutiny is derived from the following sources: (1) Aguacatenango field-notes, prepared by Duane and Barbara Metzger in the year 1956; (2) Aguacatenango field-notes prepared by the Metzgers and myself during 1958, summer session; (3) my Master's paper on Residence Patterns in Aguacatenango (Verbitsky, 1959b); (4) Amatenango reports prepared by June and Manning Nash, with the assistance of Joan Ablon during 1958-59; (5) the subsequent writings of the Nashes and Metzgers, published, and unpublished but available in mimeographed form for consultation.

125 Whenever it was possible, the data were collected quanti-
124 tatively. The section on residence was based on a formal questionnaire, checked for reliability with informal interviews with the same and other informants. This questionnaire was applied by the Nashes to 280 households in Amatenango and by myself to 68 in Aguacatenango. The residence analysis of Amatenango was prepared by June Nash (1959) with methods comparable to those utilized by me in my Master's paper. (Both used comparable analytical procedures.)

124 Other data were collected by direct questioning about particular subjects and analyzed and contrasted with case histories on the same topic.

Complete genealogies of the two villages were utilized for placing individual histories in the context of the family and other social relations.

M 563 621 647 T 621 743 647 doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango, the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse provides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse provides services in his home.

T 621 647 474 In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative store which sells staples which are not produced in the community, but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, selling only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere. (A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal profit obtained through them.) In 1958, Amatenango had water piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957; while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes were installed there.

M 563 692 Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal nature occur through the courts of justice and national government offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1958).

T 628 438 571 608 582 Relations with other Indian villages are common both for Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities located in different ecological zones the products that do not grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

621 Although the barrio lines are imaginary, they are effective limits for interaction between the inhabitants of the two sections.

621 The barrios are ideally, and in practice, endogamous.
582 (Eighty-three per cent of marriages contracted in Amatenango are barrio endogamous marriages, and 86 per cent of Aguacatenango couples have spouses from the same barrio.) The distribution of Inter- and Intra-Barrio marriages is shown in the following table:

TABLE 4

INTER- AND INTRA-BARRIO MARRIAGES

	Amatenango %	Aguacatenango %
Spouse from the same barrio	83	86
Spouse from other barrio	7.5	8
Spouse from other rural settlements	9.5	6

Given the fact that barrios originated from the parcialidades, which were at the time of the reducciones independent communities, it is possible to assume that the endogamy rules are as old as the establishment of the villages.

621 The latent hostility between the barrios becomes evident
578 when the endogamy rules are broken. Young men trying to flirt
582 with girls of the opposite barrio are reported to be beaten up,
[714] and although most informants insist that this custom is a "thing of the past," the Metzgers' field notes (Metzger, 1956-58) on Aguacatenango recorded two contemporary cases. Sometimes an offering of liquor to the single men of the opposite barrio will help

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

60| differentiation based on some other criteria which are not descent or affinity.

•[114] The "kinship terms" of Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a Hawaiian type (Murdock, 1949) system, and do not suggest, as Murdock indicated for the Tzeltal as a whole, the characteristics of a Normal Omaha (Murdock, 1955:228-31).

The main emphasis on classifying others from the point of view of Ego are relative age (seniority and generation) and sex. All discriminations made in the addressing of individuals are of a bilateral nature. More contrasts are made for the older than for the younger generation of Ego. This gives the impression that the societies face "upwards," which is confirmed by the behavior of the villagers in many dimensions of their social action, by being consistent with the terminological usages within and outside the kin group.

The classificatory principles which underlie the uses of terms are, for the society at large: seniority, generation relative to Ego, and sex, both of addressee and speaker.

When the terms are restricted to "real kinsmen," the number of terminological distinctions is expanded, so some other principles are used. The principles are:

1. Seniority
   a). Younger than Ego
   b) Older than Ego, younger than Ego's father
   c) Older than Ego, older than Ego's father
2. Sex of the addressee
3. Lineal versus collateral

TABLE 7

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1958

Residence	Cases	Per Cent
Viri-patrilocal	13	72
Uxor-patrilocal	4	23
Neolocal (Borrowing house)	1	5
Total	18	100

592 593 183 Aguacatenango: Residence Patterns of Old Marriages, Nuclear Households

The composition of nuclear households shows that people live according to their own ideas about who should live separate from their parents. Nuclear households with no children in them represents 7 per cent of the total. Nuclear households with only one child also represent 7 per cent of the cases. Nuclear households with two or more children represent 86 per cent.

125 591 593 Paternal sponsorship after a couple has moved out of the husband's parental compound was measured by (1) degree of proximity between the two households of a man and his son, and (2) father-son transmission of a house site.

361 591 593 The fact that the town is closely settled, especially in the center, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain strict contiguous patrilocal proximity between father and son, so at first glance, many a man seems to be living in a neolocal setting according to Fischer's typology. The problem of applying the concept

114 591 593

114 591 593 of sponsorship is that Fischer indicates that the residence sponsor is a person living in the same household, while in Aguacatenango patrilocal sponsorship is expressed by giving the sons a house site, even if it is not contiguous with the parental one. Therefore, to determine patrilocality of men, the couples in the sample were located (1) territorially, in terms of proximity to the husband's and wife's parents; (2) and in terms of who owned the house site, and from whom it had been obtained.

183 591 [428] The results of this analysis indicate a statistically significant emphasis on patrilocal proximity, and a strong bias towards inheriting the house in the male line.

TABLE 8

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME.
MARRIED INDIVIDUALS IN NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLDS

	Man				Woman			
	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent	
Same block	10	56	84		3	14	38	
Adjacent block	5	28		100	5	24		76
Same barrio	3	16	16		8	38	38	
Different barrio	. . .	. . .	. . .		3	14	24	
Other town	. . .	. . .			2	10		
Total Sample	18	100			21	100		

423 593 [432] [184] The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 434 868 [582] [178] Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) [114] Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[16] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

129
•014 Although Murdock's statement takes a position which is not fully supported by the historical evidence, all information, however incomplete, points in the same direction.

127
611 Baroco (1959b), working with the Register of Civil Marriages of the state of Chiapas from 1880 for Chanal, and the censuses of the same village for 1957, noticed that several patrilineal inherited Indian names were attached to a single Spanish surname. The Indian name functioned in regulating marriages. Moreover, through some of the realignments (in time depth) of name groups, he pointed out that the fusion and fission of the lineal segments could be traced historically, not only for one village, but for several villages sharing the same lineage names and suspected clans (represented by the Spanish name groups).

In another unpublished article, Baroco (1959a) indicated that according to the sixteenth and eighteenth century documents, including a book of baptisms, patrilineal name groups were associated with the naming of children with calendrical personal names, that is, names of the Mayan calendar, a custom reported in all early Mayan sources (see Barrera Vazguez, Ed. 1948; Recinos, A., Ed. 1950; Ximenez, Ed. 1857).

Contemporary evidence shows that several communities in the Chiapas highlands still preserve a strong patrilineal bent. Localized agnatic lineages and clans have been reported for Oxchuc (Villa Rojas, 1945; Siverts, H., 1960) where they have both ritual political and land-tenure regulatory functions, and Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes, 1952). Patrilineally inherited name groups with restricted corporate functions are present in practically

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 592 562 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activities are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 602 592 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. [114] Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.

•114 602 182 361 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical setting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence supported her theory. However, the data available to her was very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality, but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in the descent group and some are considered aparte (separate), but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

128 residence changes through time, in a developmental cycle which is
591 the result of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, both
[59] as a kinship unit and as economic centers of village life. (3) It
[602] tries to contribute to the study of residence by showing how a combined methodology, utilizing both Fischer's residence typology and Fortes' developmental cycle analysis, can render more fruitful descriptions than either of the two methods in isolation. (4) It
128 592 shows how a single institution, the household, is affected by the multiple pressures of several alternate social domains, and how its functioning is adjusted and organized in reference to the multivariable social world.

128 I am aware that the study has suffered at times for lack of depth in the analysis of particular data. I have been unable to discuss carefully the implications of the functions of bride-price in the two communities, because I lack sufficiently objective data to support my ideas or disprove them. The same is true for a more careful analysis of the social dynamics of coalitions between siblings and between individuals living outside each domestic unit. Although June Nash's dissertation offers several complete
128 114 examples of sibling interaction, and Metzger's field notes have
127 invaluable information in certain kinship roles, I lacked the equivalent materials from the two communities to make a more than superficial comparison.

000 I do not expect, however, this study to be the end of my inquiry into the subject. I propose to continue working in the same area of the world in the future (perhaps in the same

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Tzo?ontahal

Introduction

BEHAVIORAL REGULARITIES in ritual or informal interaction are usually considered the raw material for making structural-functional statements. The descriptive data are used illustratively or may never be included with published material. This monograph describes ritual activity, both elicited and observed. The object is (1) to state the behavioral dimensions of a structural-functional model and (2) to show where social changes are putting stress on that structure.

Ritual events are good occasions for such study because both communally prescribed and individually preferred behavior can be recorded. The expected behavior can be sorted out from the chance since the rules are more explicit than in ordinary interaction. Ceremonial behavior projects in a public performance a given set of status relationships. In doing things as they were done in the past, a theme repeated in prayers and in explanations for actions, people assert continuity of tradition. But just because of this, ceremonies are an occasion for dramatizing social change (Geertz, 1957). Competition between groups and tensions deriving from contradictions which are not apparent in everyday life may be expressed during the ceremony.

I have chosen the rituals of the inauguration of civil and religious officials in the community of Tzo?ontahal, Chiapas, Mexico, because in these performances people act out their techniques for maintaining continuity at the time of change.[1] The inauguration is a rite of passage designed to gain social acceptance of new personnel in a given set of roles. However, as in all ceremonies in this community, the occasion provides the backdrop for the release of latent hostilities. The formal ceremony requires drinking a great deal of the locally distilled liquor, "the gift of the ancestors" that makes fiestas possible.[2] Liquor rids the participants of embarrassment

[1] Field research was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health which made possible my stay from May to September, 1964, and again in December, 1964. I am grateful to Duane Metzger for providing facilities for working in San Cristobal de las Casas with my informants. Comments by Harold Conklin, Constance Sutton, and David Hunter have helped improve earlier versions.

[2] In a myth concerning the origin of liquor, it is said that the town had no fiestas until Santiago gave the gift of liquor.

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and, in fostering social intercourse, it frees them of other constraints. With the usual inhibitions removed, the social interaction following the ceremony allows the investigator to see below the surface.

We have many structural-functional descriptions of the civil-religious hierarchy of highland Maya Indian communities (Adams, 1957; Cámara Barbachano, 1952; Cancian, 1964; McArthur, 1961; Siverts, 1960, 1964; Tax, 1964; Vogt, 1965; Zabala Cubillos, 1961). The roles and functions of the hierarchy are at least minimally described in the many community studies of the area (Bunzel, 1952; Guiteras Holmes, 1961; LaFarge, 1947; LaFarge and Byers, 1931; M. Nash, 1955; Tax, 1947a,b; Valladares, 1957; Wagley, 1949; Wisdom, 1940). We have, as well, historical summaries of the colonial and independence developments (Aguirre Beltrán, 1953; Carrasco, 1952, 1961; Chávez Orozco, 1943). In previous summaries of the structure and functioning of the hierarchies, however, systematic descriptive data on performances are mostly lacking. Vogt (1965, p. 42) has indicated the value of observing behavior as a "reliable operational measure for determining rank" in Zinacantan. Cross-community comparison of institutions would be facilitated by such behavioral data. For example, the recurrent descriptive phrase "closely integrated civil-religious hierarchy" covers a spectrum of behavioral and ideological components which ranges from one in which officials of both ladders are linked by a series of sacred acts, functions and personnel, to one in which there is independent and exclusive participation. These generalizations can be broken down to a series of acts in which they are expressed. If comparison over time or between communities is to be meaningful, we must look to the descriptive detail which went into such generalizations.

For any scheduled event such as a ritual, three sources of data are available: the expectations of what will happen, the case histories of similar events in the past, and the observation of the event. In tapping the first of these, I have used the technique developed by Metzger and Williams (1963) in formal ethnographic analysis.[8] In this approach, the informant co-

[8] I am indebted to Duane Metzger for training in these methods, and to discussions with him, Brent Berlin, and Paul Kay which helped me in working out the observation schedule.

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formants' conscious understandings as well as of their subconscious patterns of behavior. [12] [024]

Description of behavior requires a theoretical approach to the problems of segmenting activity streams, selecting events, and ordering them. Too large chunks of behavior are not useful in comparisons made over time in the same society or between societies. However, because human (as well as animal) behavior is characterized by motivation and cognition (Tolman, 1961) we cannot expect to isolate minimal units which are invariant from one context to another. Verbs, as French (1954, p. 162) points out, are one-act plays in which a change of dramatis personae creates entirely new meaning. Furthermore, the symbolic weight of a single act varies; it can encompass the history of an institution, such as crossing oneself, or it can establish identification with a social movement, such as raising a clenched fist. However, for any behavioral schema, which I define, following Piaget, as component acts structured in an organized totality (Flavell, 1963, p. 54), it is possible to segment acts and assess their significance. In the major schema of the inauguration of officials in Tzo?ontahal, place, time, and roles are the bases for structuring related sets of activities.

Segmenting human behavior has been treated as either an actor-oriented or an observer-oriented problem. Pike (1954) and Adams (1962) rely on informants' advice to isolate the "behavioreme," whereas Harris (1964, p. 367 ff.) rejects the actor's statement of goals in favor of the investigator's own definitions of action units. If the "basic unit of action in the human body is purposive motion" (Burke, 1962, p. 61), then we must consider the meaning of action at the first stage of an analysis.[4] The anthropological observer's segmentation at this point injects cultural bias which stems from his point of view (Hymes, 1964, p. 14; Spier and Sapir, 1930, p. 217). Since our [114] [124]

[4] Most verbs used by informants in describing action patterns imply purpose. The informant says that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and masticates it. The coding of motives and goals in the verbs underlines the importance of eliciting in the performer's own language. For example, when one observes the Indians as they enter the townhall, one sees them kneel and do what could be interpreted as crossing themselves. Asked what they do, the informants reply, "We measure our noses (*sp'is sni?ik*)." Measuring water (*sp'is ha?*) is another important ceremonial act. This suggests the possible ceremonial significance of measure in ceremonial performances. To assume knowledge of the act because of its similarity to Catholic forms might rule out suggestions requiring deeper probing. Cf. Adams' (1962) distinction between the reported and the observed act, and Barker (1963). [121] [124] [193] [788] [804] [114]

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In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?"

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out.

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below.

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre-

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of the *nakawanehetik*.

The major behavioral schema are established in the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, the actors assert status in a social arrangement by their position in a physical arrangement: seating order clockwise from the door indicates rank order in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the townhall differs from drinking in the house because it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall.

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evident in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: religious officials are called "officials in the church" *(?a?teletik te ta č'ulna)* and civil officials are called "officials in the townhall" *(?a?teletik te ta č'ulna)*. If my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized.

The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corroborates some of the understandings gained from eliciting the structure, but requires some modification. The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evidenced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings.

[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act.

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